1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda



177 At some time during the day, Kotas will have arrived,
764 some to act as musicians (Fig. 56), others to take the flesh of
[533] the slaughtered buffaloes. The musicians play on their instruments, which may include a clarionet, a drum, tambourine, and brass horn, though usually I saw only the clarionet and drum. The musicians become especially active while the body is consuming. The other Kotas, who carry sharp sticks on which to carry away the flesh, begin to cut up the

FIG. 56.—KOTAS PLAYING MUSIC AT A TODA FUNERAL.

buffaloes as soon as the people have left the neighbourhood of the funeral hut. On more than one occasion I noticed Tamil women sitting not far from the funeral scene, and was told that they had come to buy some of the flesh from the Kotas, and I believe that it is not unknown for the flesh to find its way to the bazaar at Ootacamund.

764 Before the body is finally placed on the fire, a lock of hair
765 is cut from the head to serve as one of the relics for the second funeral. It is cut by a near relative of the dead person; in the case of Sinerani, it was cut off by her boy-

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234 541 765 object of the fray was that the men might exhibit their agility and skill. There is little doubt, however, that the bells were put on the buffaloes at some time on this day. The remainder of the first day was occupied with dancing, singing, and feasting. On the second day, the proceedings began again in the middle of the day with more dances and with a repetition of the driving and catching within the pen. In the afternoon, after the earth-throwing ceremony, the buffaloes, now wearied and subdued, were dragged from the pen and killed, and then followed the ceremonies which have already been described.

765 787 627 At the funeral witnessed by Mr. Walhouse, part of the second day was occupied by the proceedings of a diviner, and divination seems to be a frequent feature of funerals, having been also seen both by Mr. Thurston and myself. In the latter case, the occasion of the divination arose directly out of the proceedings, but it is probable that the gatherings are used as opportunities of consulting the gods on other matters. A funeral may also be used as an occasion for settling disputes, especially those which concern the people especially connected with the funeral.

## Funeral Laments

533 539 765 At some stage in both funeral ceremonies laments for the dead may be sung or said which consist of sentences praising the virtues of the deceased and recounting incidents of his or her life. To these sentences the same term *kwarzam* is applied which is used for the words and clauses of the prayers. I am not certain at what stage of the proceedings the recital of these laments takes place, but it is certainly after the killing of the buffaloes, probably in many cases during the general wailing round the buffalo and the remains. At the second funeral of a male, however, I believe that the lament is recited during the dancing.

I did not succeed in obtaining any examples during my visit, but soon after my departure Samuel sent me two laments, one composed by Teitnir (52) and uttered by him at the second funeral ceremony for his wife Tersveli. The

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other was also composed by Teitnir for the first funeral ceremony of Pidrvan (9) of Kars.

The Toda name for these laments is *kunedsthiu* or *kunedsti*, and certain men have great reputations as composers both for funerals and on other occasions, and Teitnir was one of these. The following is the lament for Tersveli :—

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Isa* | *kâgh* | *ia*,[1] | *isa* | *kutei*, | *atâth* |
| O | woman | oh ! | O | woman, | not born before |
| *atia*, | *perveth* | *perpia*, | *pâv* | *trsimitch* | *ia* |
| you were born, | renowned | you were born, | flower | lime | oh ! |
| *pâv* | *elet* | *ia*, | *kwath* | *kud* | *katathik*, |
| flower | (a bush) | oh ! | proper husband (?) | found | you married, |
| *patath* | *kud* | *patiathenk*, | *tevukki* | | *murs* |
| proper wife | found | I married, | (*kwarsam* of Piedr) | to | beautiful |
| *fr* | *natsi* | *kadrthenk*, | *âttkhark* | *murs* | *makh* |
| buffalo | looked | I gave, | (*kwarsam* of Kuudr) | to beautiful | woman |
| *natsi* | *patiathenk*, | *kutsia* | *mun* | *kutenathuk*, | *kokiji*[2] |
| looked | I married, | built | house | we built, | imitation bracelets |
| *kis* | *narsiathûk* | *kôter* | | *kis* | *narsiathûk*, |
| made | we played, | imitation buffalo horns | | made | we played, |
| *ôr* | *makh* | *puchiathûk*, | *ôr* | *fr* | *tû* |
| six | children | we would produce, | six | buffalo | pen |
| *adathûk*, | *orppasan* (?) | *eithk* | *pudrkwadr* | | *nars* |
| we would enjoy, | liberal | you were, | umbrella tree | | shade |
| *eithk*, | *irom* | *ed* | *ithethûk*, | *pukhom* | |
| you were, | we will live | that | we thought, | we will go together | |
| *ed* | *peithûk*, | *kalav* | *fr* | *kadathûk*, | *pûa* *tadri* |
| that | we went, | strong | buffalo | we bought, | ? pole |
| *pudathûk* | *tudu* | *athi* | *ed* | *kadrtathûk*, | *udi* *athi* *ed* |
| we beat, | fine | it is | that | we gave, | have it is that |
| *kadrthûk*, | *kutei ath* | *kotei* | *peithûk*, | *keirtith* | *keir* |
| we gave, | built | bungalow | we went, | running waters | reservoir |
| *peithûk*, | *ô* | *katcheri* | *peithûk*, | *ô* | *kapel* |
| we went, | seven | courts (law) | we went, | seven | ships |
| *peithûk* | *pudrâ* | *muri* | *ithathûk*, | *pash* | *it* |
| we went, | Tamil to | complaints | we spoke, | words | spoke |

[1] This is also the usual vocative termination.

[2] *Kokiji* is the Kota name for a toe-ring worn on the second toe of the right foot by Kota women (see Breeks, p. 123). A similar word is used for bracelets of vine made by the Todas as a game.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda



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| *pudrè* | *kisthdè* | *pudrk* | *it* | *pudrk* | *kisthdè,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| prize | we won (made), | prize | spoke | prize | we won, |

| *ilndrem* | *ed* | *thdè,* | *kan* | *wdjem* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| we will not be shaken | that | we said, | eye | we will not fear |

| *ed* | *thdè,* | *mún* | *dwem* | *ed* | *thdè,* | *en* | *it* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| that | we said, | face | ? | that | we said, | me | here |

| *pwkelnia,* | *en* | *it* | *ptkelnia,* | *purs* | *kan* | *nir* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| keep you went, | me | here | leave you went, | right | eye | water |

| *pirevinen,* | *purs* | *mutkvi* | *kurseivinen,* | *patnenk* | *kandnen,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I shed, | right | nostril | I smart, | I bewailed | I could not find, |

| *pwodethenk* | *kandnen,* | *enè* | *nè* | *swdmi* | *aivinen.*[1] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I called out | I could not find, | to me | one | god | I have. |

The free translation of this is as follows:—

"O woman of wonderful birth, renowned were you born, O flower, lime, O flower, tree. Having found a proper husband you married; having found a prope. wife I married. I gave my best buffalo to Piedr for you. I took you as a beauty to Kuudr. A house we built, bracelets and buffalo horns we made in sport. I thought we should have had many children and many buffaloes should we have enjoyed. Liberal you were and refreshing like the shade of the umbrella tree. We thought that we should live long. We went together as we willed. We bought strong buffaloes and we prevailed over injustice. Peacefully we paid our fine. We lent to those that had not. We went to see the bungalows and the reservoir. Many courts we visited and ships also. We laid complaints before the native magistrate; we made bets and we won. We said that we would not be shaken and would fear the eye of no one. We thought to live together, but you have left me alone, you have forsaken me. My right eye sheds tears, my right nostril smarts with sorrow. I bewailed but could not find you. I called out for you and could not find you. There is one God for me."

This translation is based partly on the literal meanings of the *kwarsam*, partly on explanations and renderings given to Samuel by Teitnir. The dead wife was a Piedr woman and the husband a Kuudr man. The mention of injustice refers

[1] In some cases Samuel could not give the literal meanings, and has only given the general sense of the *kwarsam*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda



to trouble which arose when other men wished to take his wife from Teitnir. The visits to bungalows, &c., probably refers to a time when Teitnir and his wife lived in Ootacamund under the protection of the Zenana Mission. The ships must be purely imaginary on Teitnir's part, unless he is referring to boats on the lake at Ootacamund. The numbers six and seven are those generally used for 'many' under ordinary conditions, and there is a clause towards the end which probably refers to the evil eye. Teitnir was under, or pretended to be under, missionary influence, and his reference to "one God" at the end is certainly due to this.

The following is the lament composed by Teitnir for Pidrvan :—

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Epukerz* | *ia!* | *alipukerz* | *ia!* | *Pudkà* | *tedkàl* |
| *K'warzam of mailr* | oh! | *kwarzam of mailr* | oh! | rattan | ring |
| *ir* | *ia!* | *Pukà* | *kudnik* | *kinim* | *ia!* | *poivalei* | *mud* | *ia!* |
| buffalo | oh! | ? | ? | plate | oh! | ? | ? | oh! |
| *kaivali* | *mòdr* | *ia!* | *kapastk* | *kal* | *ia!* | *kùdukatith* | *kùdr* | *ia!* |
| necklace | neck | oh! | trousers | leg | oh! | ear | born | oh! |
| *ana* | *matu* | *ia!* | *arzhan* | *mudr* | *ia!* | *atawdu* | *ia!* |
| elephant | foot | oh! | European | walk | oh! | sambhar | oh! |
| *wurz* | *frk* | *kan* | *ikitkenk,* | *kalockilzom* | *ol* |
| beautiful | buffalo to | eye | I kept, | old woman to (?) | that |
| *think,* | *kalòlzom* | *ol* | *think* | *inditeikki indivan,* |
| they said, | old man to (?) | that | they said, | *kwarzam* of Kars clan, |
| *ina* | *kdru* | *ö* | *vdr* | *kada,* | *pdrounkdru!* |
| O | chief | seven | village | chief, | conqueror oh! |
| *pudrvantol*[1] | *ia!* | *kwatkdru!* | *K'avanadi* | *pali* | *put* |
| peace-loving man | oh! | strong man oh! | Kavanadi | dairy | carried |
| *oia!* | *tö* | *vut* | *tkli* | *ia!* | *atith* | *ud* |
| oh! | pen | carried | posts | oh! | not born before | one |
| *atithli,* | *perwuk* | *ud* | *pertithli,* | *pda* | *kùtm* |
| you were born, | renowned | one | you were born, | ? | council |
| *panaithli* | *saver* | *kkithli,* | *ter* | *ud* | *ölk* |
| you held, | money fine | you imposed, | buffalo fine | one | man to |
| *edatthli* | *mokk* | *ud* | *ölk* | *kisthli,* | *mailr* |
| you told, | girl | one | to man | you made, | barren buffaloes |
| *kudk* | *poithli,* | *pirer* | *nödik* | *peithli* |
| in the midst | you went, | buffalo | to the neck | you went, |

[1] A play on Pidrvan's name.

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| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *pude* | *ädïchi* | *pattïdï,* | *pave* | *avandïdï,* | | |
| chosen number | best | you went, | chosen number | you ran before, | | |
| *kal* | *ir* | *ädïrïdï* | *pattoti* | *pïlïdïdï* | *nïnïk* | *nïl* | *kubï* |
| leg | dance | you danced | ? | ? | your | one | new things |
| *kïnïdïdï,* | *nïnïk* | *nïl* | *kul* | *kïnïdïdï* | *ïl* | *kun* | |
| you made, | your | one | invention | you made, | to-day | eye | |
| *nïdu* | *drïnï,* | *Kars* | *kunuv* | *pudïtka?* | *parmarï* | | |
| face | I saw, | Kars | dance | has it come? | dwarves of dance | | |
| *pudïtka?* | *matïkïdïdï* | *mani* | *kwïdïnïni* | *dïdrutrï* | *kwyk* | | |
| has it come? | burning-place at | when | heaped, | answer at | grass | | |
| *patanïni.*[1] | | | | | | | |
| grew up. | | | | | | | |

The first part of this lament begins with the *kunuvanu* of the *mastir*, or barren buffalo, slaughtered at the funeral. It is not quite clear which of the clauses at the beginning refer to the buffalo and which to the man. I do not know the meaning of the second clause. The free rendering of the third and fourth was said to be, "Your horns crept so well; your horns crept well to the front." The general sense of the other clauses was said to be as follows: "O, your leg like trousers, your horns like a car, your foot is like that of an elephant, you walk with a step like a European soldier, your appearance is like that of a sambhar. I saw you were the most beautiful buffalo of all." It seems probable that the lament so far refers altogether to the buffalo. Then follows, "They said that you would be the parent of the dead, but now you are dead yourself"; or, "When old people are yet alive, why are young ones taken?" Then follows the *kunuvanu* of the Kars clan, and the rest obviously refers to Pidrvan himself: "O chief of many villages, conqueror, peace-loving and yet strong man. You were like Kavanadi, who carried the posts of the buffalo-pen.[2] O man of wonderful birth, renowned you were born; you held councils; you fined some by money and some by buffaloes; you settled who should marry the women. In

[1] As both these funeral laments were obtained from Samuel, I cannot guarantee that the method of spelling adopted is the same as that used elsewhere in the book; this is especially the case with the sign 'th,' which, in agreement with the practice customary in South India, was used by Samuel for the lingual 'ṭ,' and sometimes for a sound for which I have used the letter d.

[2] For the story to which this refers, see Chapter XXVIII.

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the midst of barren buffaloes you went; you caught the throats of the buffaloes; you ran first and caught the buffaloes before the chosen men; well you danced and shouted finely; you invented new things. To-day for the last time I saw your face. Has the angel of death come to you? I see nothing but ashes in your burning-place. In your *ænæm* place I see nothing but grass growing."

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## Purification Ceremonies

Certain further ceremonies are performed about the time of the first new moon after the *marvainalkədr*.

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At one or both of the funerals of a Tarthar man a sacred buffalo will have been killed by the *wərzol* and the sacred bell (*mani*) will have been used. By his acts at the funeral the *wərzol* loses his office, and by its use on the same occasion the *mani* is defiled. On the day before the new moon following the funeral all the things in the dairy of the *wərzol* are thrown away. Either a new dairyman is appointed and goes through the usual rites, or the old *wərzol* is re-appointed and has to repeat his ordination ceremonies. This is done on the Sunday after the new moon, which is the proper day for the ordination of a *wərzol*, exactly the same ceremonies being performed as those described in Chapter VII. The old *wərzol* puts the *mani* in the dairy stream (*pali nîpə*), and if he is not re-appointed, his duties then cease. The new *wərzol*, or the old *wərzol* who has undergone new ordination ceremonies, takes the *mani* from the stream and purifies it by rubbing it all over with pounded *tədr* bark and water. He then takes the bell to the dairy, which is now empty, finds a new stick on which to hang it, and puts both stick and bell in their proper place on the *patatmar*. Then the new dairy vessels are purified and put in their places in the usual manner.

This purification of the dairy is not done by the Teivaliol, and seems to be only necessary when the *mani* and the dairyman who looks after it have been defiled by the funeral ceremonies. In the case of the Nòdrsol, the *mani* between the two funeral ceremonies is kept at Nòdrs, and is taken back to Òdr on the Sunday after the new moon following the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda



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| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Purkkiyakide* | *ukiyaokiyaki?* | *Kkoli* | *kkyiti.* | |
| Calls out if | why does says no? | Cock | crows. | |

What is it that calls out and no one replies? The cock.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Nide* | *niri* | *kui,* | *pun* | *niri* | *pôn?* | *Kin.* |
| Earth | goes round | fruit, | sky | goes round | flowers? | The right one goes. |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Modiil* | *pir* | *wutsai,* | *pim* | *marmuti;* | *pin* | *pir* | |
| First | pregnant | who becomes, | later | is delivered; | later | pregnant | |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *wutsai,* | *modiil* | *marmuti?* | *Tâmi,* | *kudj.* |
| who becomes, | first | is delivered? | A grain, | barley. |

*Tami* or *samai* (*patw*) is the grain from which *patcherki*, one of the chief Toda foods, is made. It shows above the ground later than barley, but is reaped earlier.

524 I did not hear of any mechanical puzzles or tricks used by the Todas, and it was quite clear that they had no knowledge of cat's-cradle.

## Poetry and Music

533 538 I have given two samples of Toda poetry in the chapter on funeral ceremonies. These are the chief occasions on which songs are composed, but they are also made when a new dairy is being built, and may be composed and sung on any festive occasion. The general name for compositions of this kind is *kwardsti*, and certain men have special reputations as composers. The most noted of recent times was a man named Mervoin belonging to the family of Kiugi.

Of those now living, Teitnir, whose two funeral songs I have given, is a noted composer, and I was told of six other men who were especially gifted in this way.

Though I have called these compositions songs, they should, perhaps, rather be called recitations. They are [195] certainly not songs with any musical accompaniment. I understood, though I am not clear about this, that the clauses, or *kwarsam*, of the funeral poems are said in a low voice "in the throat," so that they are not understood by the people who hear them. If this is correct, the funeral *kwarsam* resemble in this respect those of which the prayers consist.

538 The Toda poets also compose songs on any festive

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda


## CHAPTER IV.

### CHARACTERISTICS.

*Talking Voices—Modes of Salutation—Home Life—Frank and obliging Natures—Colour of the Skin—Tattoo Marks—Ornaments—Boys distinguished from Girls—Apparel—Toilette.*

CHAP. IV.

THE Toda talking voice is peculiar; particularly so that of the women. Whilst on the part of the men it is strikingly grave and sedate, spoken almost *sotto voce*: the women's voice, on the contrary, is rather high, appearing to come altogether from the region at the back of the ear—the 'mastoid process.' In both sexes, but particularly with the female, the sound of the voice is somewhat musical and refined, though fatiguing to listen to from its monotonous tone. Indeed, it is somewhat astonishing that some harsh syllables of their language should come so softly from such mouths. The refinement arises doubtless, from the gentleness of their dispositions—void of asperity; its friendliness, accompanied by desire to please. Not from any innate sense of tune, for they have no more ear for music than so many crows.

Their amiability shows itself also in their observance of courteous customs. The salaam of the East, performed amongst the Todas by raising the thumb-edge of the right hand vertically to the nose and forehead, is a respectful form of address; used in addressing superiors, and on approach to sacred places, and other like occasions. When asked by what name they styled that form of salute, they replied: 'Itvâ eshken, swâmi eshken,' or, 'I say, come! I say, Lord!'

That mode of salutation which is most employed amongst

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda



# CHAPTER XXI.

## THE DRY FUNERAL.

*The burning of a Flute, Bow, and Arrows—The Dance—Scene with the Sacrificial Cattle—Again 'dust to dust'—Catching the Cattle—The Sacrifice—The Cattle-bell—No Priest concerned in the Ceremonies—Sprinkling of blood—Final burning of the Manes—The Kotas remove the dead Cattle.*

CHAP. XXI.

IF the first obsequies may be held to express feeling and mournful sentiments for the deceased as true and sound as any we exhibit in like circumstances; the ceremonies of the bara kêdu or dry funeral may with equal justice be looked on as partaking both of a propitiatory provisional nature and of a commemorative festival character—as if performed with the object of speeding the general welfare of the friend gone to the unknown country: but in a style of show and hospitality somewhat commensurate with his worldly importance.

Hence we find the Todas congregate in considerable numbers at the kêdu Mand, and display their ornaments on these occasions: feeding also a large assembly of their own and neighbouring tribes, conspicuous amongst which, the Kotas, who attend with much discordant piping or flageolet music (they are the musicians—save the mark!—of these hills). A very well-behaved multitude, but whose presence may be noted as readily by the nose as by other organs.[1]

In the very early morning of the first of a two days'

[1] One now quite understands the value of the Toda expression, 'I see with my nose.'

" border. It is hung over the left shoulder, brought across the back, and forward
" under the right arm, the point being flung backwards over the left shoulder again,
" leaving the right arm at liberty, and allowing the folds to fall gracefully about the
" lower part of the person down to the knees." (*Plate* XI.)

* * * * *

" The female dress (*Plate* IV.) on ordinary occasions consists of a robe similar
" to that of the men, though it is worn differently, being merely thrown over both
" shoulders and clasped in front by the hand."

Singularly massive ornaments are worn by the women (*Plate* V.)[1] A pair of brass armlets worn on one arm above the elbow weighed 6 lbs.

The *Būguri* (*Plate* XI.) is the only musical instrument they possess. It is a hollow bamboo with holes like a flute, and a piece of horn or wood at the lower end. The performer blows in at the top and produces a disagreeable sound, aggravated by the fluttering of a piece of paper inserted between the bamboo and the horn. They are fond of singing, that is, of chanting in a monotonous drone apparently without words. To a European ear, however,—

" their song is death "
" And makes destruction please."

like that of the Sirens, but for a different reason. They dance in circles with clubs (*Plate* XI.), holding hands or linking arms, and marking time with shouts of *Hoh, Hoh*.

They generally greet Europeans with a simple salaam; sometimes with a sort of bow or military salute made in a courteous and dignified manner. A Toda woman meeting a man salutes him by raising his feet one after the other to her forehead. An old woman, however, receives instead of paying this reverence. A Badaga meeting a Toda lays his hand on the head of the latter. This, and the title *Māv*, father-in-law,* which is assigned to the Badagas, seems to imply some belief in the superiority of the latter.

When Europeans came to the Hills under the auspices of Mr. Sullivan in 1820, to settle at Ootacamund and elsewhere, one of the first questions that arose, concerned the nature and extent of the Toda rights in the soil. *Tenure of land.*

The subject was discussed for years, during which no attempt was made by Government to have these rights ascertained and defined. Ultimately, however, an inquiry took place, which, amidst a mass of correspondence, elicited the following noteworthy points:—

From as far back as our records extended, it appeared that the Todas had paid annually a light pasture tax for about 190 *Ballas*† of land, and 2 *Kantirdi fanams*‡ for each buffalo, and had enjoyed the right of pasturing their herds over

---

* A Badaga house is sometimes called *Pāllhoki*, like the Todas' temples.
† A *Balla* = 4 acres nearly.
‡ *Kantirdi fanam* = 0r. 4a. 8p. of present money.

1 [Plate 5A -- Analyst]

The pouch of the *pútkuli* is filled with grain. Outside the *Āzāram* are burnt the miniature stretcher (*Berrkvur*), some half-dozen mimic buffalo horns of bamboo (*Kŭtĕr*), the dead man's bamboo milk vessel, and the *Pell*. All the silver ornaments are passed through the flame and removed, before the utensils, &c. are burnt. All the time the fire is burning, two Kotas are making night hideous with their discordant music, and all the Todas mourn and weep in couples, sobbing their rhythmical farewell to the dead:

* *Ámmáḍgu seruṁā,*
*Karma dharma* (pronounced *Kurrm Dharrm*) *tiliṁā.**

Courtesy requires that all who attend the funeral should go through the form of mourning, but a brief display of mitigated grief contents mere acquaintances.

Just as dawn is breaking, the music is stopped, the mourning ceases, and in dead silence all cluster round the *Āzāram* for the impressive closing ceremony. Water is sprinkled on the embers, a large stone at the entrance of the circle† is taken up, and a pit dug under it, into which they scrape the ashes, and the stone is replaced.

At a Todi funeral a man goes three or four times round the circle ringing a bell,‡ followed by another with a chatty,§ but this is not done by all the clans.

Finally a dim figure enters the circle, and raising a chatty high over his head dashes it to pieces on the stone covering the ashes, ‖ bends down, touches the stone with his forehead, and hastens away. All the others perform in turn the same prostration, and flitting silently down the hill—a procession of hurrying shadows—fade into the mist through which twinkles the distant fire at the *kédmane*. Imagination might easily transform them into the departing spirits of the propitiated dead.

They tell me that they have a tradition that after putting their foreheads to the stone, they must get away as quickly as possible, and without looking back. The natives of the plains have, I believe, a similar superstition.¶

At a woman's dry funeral, instead of the bows and arrows, a rice-beater is burnt, and last of all the *kédmane* itself, a remarkable symbolical acknowledgment of the exceptionally important position which the Toda women occupy.

Thus the Toda funeral, like the Badaga song which describes a future state,** ends in note of despair, a mournful suggestion that, after all, their cares for the dead may be in vain. Surely those who instituted these remarkable ceremonies must have recognised the significance of that time-honoured symbol the "broken pitcher;" a type of irremediable

* This is the only thing in the shape of verse I know among the Todas.

† At a Todi funeral near Tirnāt Mand the entrance was N.N.E., but this does not seem to be always the case. Some more modern *Āzārams* might be examined to ascertain this, which is important in connexion with the orientation of the cairns.

‡ Not a sacred bell, but one that the Kotas keep and bring with them to the funeral.

§ An earthen pot.

‖ Dubois, People of India, p. 290. At a Brahman funeral "the chief of the funeral taking on his shoulder a pitcher of water goes three times round the pile, letting water run over it through a hole in the vessel, which he afterwards breaks near the head of the corpse."

¶ Among the Todas, according to Dr. Pope, the same word, Bhūt, stands for ghost and demon. Possibly the interment of the last relics of the dead is felt as breaking his last link with the living, and giving him over to the disembodied army of Bhūts. The dread of ghosts, or belief in the evil power of the spirits of bad or unmarried men is very common in India.

** Dravidian Folk songs, by Mr. Gover.

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda



175 "oldest buffalo cows, hang a miserable little bell on their necks, this is enough to ensure "the buffaloes adoration. The buffaloes are permitted to go about free everywhere, also "into the fields to graze, and everyone considers himself fortunate if they eat something "of his property. Though the buffaloes are very often killed by tigers, the Todas do "not slacken in their worship."

The Carmelite made his journey in 1657, and only heard these reports on the Coast.

178 The Todas themselves have a few stories, which, however, it is very difficult to extract
179 from them. The elder men, who are the chief depositaries of the mythological learning of the tribe, are, native-like, very averse to questions (which always seem to bring before them visions of taxation), and apt to profess entire ignorance. Such traditions as I have obtained, are of no historical importance, but may have some ethnological value, in common with the legends of most rude tribes. I give them, therefore, much in the form in which I received them.

124 A Pekkan man, Kiniaven, one of my intimate acquaintances, when asked whether his
● 533 people had any songs like the Badagas, said yes, they had songs, and after entreaties for a specimen, began a queer monotonous sort of drone through his nose. He said there
538 were no words to the song, but when pressed as to the meaning, and what they thought
173 about when singing, he replied they thought about the names of their gods, which he enumerated. After racking his brains a little more, he discovered that they also thought
179 about Dirkish the son of Ēn. What about Dirkish? Of what Dirkish said in lamenting his father Ēn. What did Dirkish say? "Where have you gone, why have you left us,
176 "have you gone to Heaven, what shall I do," &c., &c. Did they sing anything else about Dirkish? Yes, they sang that Dirkish made everything, the kraals, the buffaloes, the Todas, the *pâltchis*, &c., &c., with childishly minute enumeration. Whether these lugubrious "songs without words" really are supposed to convey an idea of Dirkish's labours or lamentations, I cannot say; but the most discriminating ear could not discover any appropriate variations in tune. By further inquiries, I discovered that Ēn was "the first Toda who came" (he had previously said that they were created on the hills), he went to heaven by way of the Avalanche, and was no more seen; that his son was Dirkish, who built the munds and temples *and the Cairns on Seven Cairn hill,* and Nātanēri hill,*† no others; that all the other cairns were built before the Todas came up; that Dirkish also divided the Todas into five tribes; that he did not die, nor go to heaven, but resided as a god on Seven Cairn hill. On being asked who told them all this, they said Kotēn told them, Kotēn was one of their ancestors, and brought up the Kotas. On another occasion they said the Kotas were also born on the hills, and explained the discrepancy, by saying that Kotēn had first bargained with the Kotas saying "You shall be my people, and make pots for us." Possibly the claim of the Kotas to dead buffaloes, mentioned before, formed part of this agreement.

124 Up to this point I had to extract Kiniaven's information piecemeal, but afterwards,
539 finding, I suppose, that no fatal consequences followed his indiscretion, he became communicative, and volunteered the following stories, which he related with, for a Toda,
173 great fluency.

I subsequently verified the stories in all essential points, by inquiries from other Todas.

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* Close to Mūttinād mand, near the top of the Segūr Ghât. † To the right of the Crocrmund road.

602 ing the hair or in bathing. The latter is so extended that one may not even be present while the other is bathing, though the preparing and bringing of bath-water is allowed and is as a matter of course done for a father by [264] his daughter. Another curious taboo may be placed here, though it is limited in its operation in such a way that its allocation is somewhat doubtful. The water with which a man washes his right hand after eating (it should be remembered that in India the food is handled with the right hand only) must not be thrown away by his female poɭjoiɭ or ŭɯdmortkvæidvoj who is older than himself. His mother may do so and normally does until he marries, when his wife normally performs the office. His daughter or daughter-in-law may also dispose of the water. There is also a prohibition against breaking wind in the presence of a ŭɯdmortkvæidvoj or poɭjoiɭ of the opposite sex.

602 Men and women seldom sing together, though it sometimes happens, ●533 and more especially in the case of husband and wife. But ŭɯdmortkvæidvoj and poɭjoiɭ of opposite sex are forbidden not only to sing together but even to sing at the same time in one another's hearing. If a man is singing out of sight but within hearing of a woman of these categories and she wishes to burst into song, she will first ask who is singing and then regulate her actions accordingly; so also if a man hears a woman singing. One can only suppose that if they sang at the same time, they would be considered to be acting as if they were marriageable.

521 References to all subjects, whether regarded by our communities as 602 decent or indecent, are very freely made in Toda conversations, as I have 196 had occasion to observe when getting information from parties in which 192 both men and women were present. Very frank speech is usual with women as well as men. But between poɭjoiɭ or ŭɯdmortkvæidvoj of opposite sex, or even when one of these is present in the company but not actually addressed, this freedom is taboo. Reference, whether direct or by circumlocution, is forbidden to sexual intercourse, menstruation, the private parts, including by extension the nipple, the navel, the armpit, and pubic hair, to [333] the secreta, or breaking wind. Biting the skin of the neck while making love seems to be common, and the red mark which lasts for some time is [522] a subject for the jest: "You have been bitten by a tiger." Use of the compound verb stems which denote the act of biting in this way (mur̥ɣŭɑrt–, "neck-cut," and kŭɑrt-ɣŭɯrt–, "cutting-give") or any indirect reference or jesting is forbidden between people between whom the taboos operate. So also is the use of the word kŭɯɪdjvöɪn, "fowl-lice," which also denotes the insects found in the pubic hair or the hair of the armpits; reference to these insects is also forbidden. Other words are forbidden in specific senses.

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[765] separating to select a new partner, each couple saluted by bowing the head, and raising thereto the feet of the other, covered by the putkŭli. [I have seen women rapidly recover from the outward manifestations of grief, and clamour for money.] From time to time the company of mourners was reinforced by late arrivals from distant mands, and, as each detachment, now of men and now of women, came in view across the open downs, one could not fail to be reminded of the gathering of the clans on some Highland moor. The resemblance was heightened by the distant sound as of pipers, [648] [533] produced by the Kota band (with two police constables in attendance), composed of four Kotas, who made a weird noise with drums and flutes as they drew near the scene of action. The band, on arrival, took up a position close to the mourning women. As each detachment arrived, the women, recognising their relatives, came forward and saluted them in the manner customary among Todas by falling at their feet, and placing first the right and then the left foot on their [576] head. Shortly after the arrival of the band, signals were exchanged, by waving of putkŭlis, between the assembled throng and a small detachment of men some distance off. A general move was made, and an *impromptu* procession formed, with men in front, band in the middle, and women bringing up the rear. A halt was made opposite a narrow gap leading into the shola; men and women sat apart as before; and the band walked round, discoursing unsweet music. A party of girls went off to bring fire from the spot just vacated for use in the coming ceremonial, but recourse was finally had to a box of matches lent by one of our party. At this stage we noticed a woman go up to the eldest son of the deceased, who was seated apart from the

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766 the head of the corpse, dug a hole in the ground with a cane, and asked a Kenna who was standing on the other side, "Puzhut, Kenna," * shall I throw the earth?—three times. To which the Kenna, answering, replied "Puzhut" —throw the earth—thrice. The Paiki then threw some earth three times over the corpse, and three times into the miniature kraal. It is suggested by Dr. Rivers that the circle was made to do duty for a buffalo pen, as the funeral was held at a place where there was no tu (pen), from the entrance of which earth could be dug up.

764. 533 Several examples of laments relating to the virtues and life of the deceased, which are sung or recited in the course of the funeral ceremonies, are given by Dr. Rivers. On the occasion of the reproduction of a lament in my phonograph, two young women were seen to be crying bitterly. The selection of the particular lament was [123] unfortunate, as it had been sung at their father's funeral. The reproduction of the recitation of a dead person's sins at a Badaga funeral quickly restored them to a state of cheerfulness.

648 764 782 The following petition to the Collector of the Nilgiris on the subject of buffalo sacrifice may be quoted as a sign of the times, when the Todas employ petition-writers to express their grievances:—

"According to our religious custom for the long period, we are bringing forward of our killing buffaloes without any irregular way. But, in last year, when the late Collector came to see the said place, by that he ordered to the Todas first not to keep the buffaloes without feeding in the kraal, and second he ordered to kill each for every day, and to clear away the buffaloes, and not to keep the buffaloes without food.

* "Puzhuthina—Shall I throw earth?" Rivers.

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§8. In many of the names the substituted suffix is -küuɪr. This is clearly the noun küuɪr "stream," "path," or "horn." One man küɑmgüuɪr (63, Kwongudr) is named after küɑmgüuɪr, the meeting place of the assembly of the tribe; the place-name is that of a stream flowing in the valley at this place. noɪrgüuɪr (62, Nargudr) <a stream and pool near the mund tögoʊ. In some other personal names it is probable that this suffix has reference to a stream; e.g. iɪʂxüuɪr (21, Idrshkwòdr) <iɪʂfoʃ, a valley (poʃ) near the mund toɪroɪr; iɪdzxüuɪr (23, Idjkudr) <iɪdzfoʃ, a valley near the mund paʃtɑɪr; in both these cases the valley has a stream. töɪzxüuɪr (63, Terkudr) <a path near the mund æɪpuɪsgoɪr. In many other names however -küuɪr can have no reference to a stream or a path, and there is great probability that the word küuɪr has its other meaning "horn;" so in fact the Todas analyze the names. The horns of their buffaloes are much admired by the Todas, and in such a buffalo-centred culture it is not surprising that "horn" should be an element in names. This use is clear in such a name as kæmxüuɪr (62, Kangudr), where kæm refers to a sacred buffalo of his sib. Such a case as kerxüuɪr (63, Kergudr) <the mund kerxoɪr, is much less obvious and is clearly of the same nature as those names discussed in §9. The word has come to be felt as a suffix that may be used with little regard to the meaning but merely for the connotive force. For the specific origin of the use we may, however, reasonably look to the use of stream-names and path-names and the presence in the language of the homonyms küuɪr "stream" or "path" and küuɪr "horn."[7]

[7] I have made this specific analysis for the benefit of psychologists who may wish to find in these personal names a phallic significance. Such a significance is certainly not there on the surface. Moreover, in the erotic songs which I have recorded, where phallic symbolism is to be looked for, the horn does not occur as a phallic symbol. A number of such symbols that are used are given in the following paragraphs.

The most common symbolism that is to be regarded as sexual is that of the bee and the flower: a specimen of this type is given in *The Songs of the Todas*, p. 551. I also remark there that the same metaphor is used of a man catching a buffalo at a funeral, and finally in a marginal use to describe the activities of the bed-bug.

In one of the songs in which a woman is represented as talking about the party that had come to carry her off to give her in marriage to an old man comes the couplet:

| | |
|---|---|
| puɪfymitʃ | puɪk æɪfus |
| flower-like fruit | crowd-for I became |
| toɪjomoɪ | tuɪk æɪfus |
| pole-who are-men | bushes-to they became |

i.e. "for the crowd of Toda men I have become a lime; men who are (or, who have) long poles have hidden in the bushes to carry me off." The toɪjis a long pole carried at a two-day funeral; reference to the lime is common in such connections, especially as a vocative addressed to a beautiful woman. The informants said that in this passage there is another meaning, viz. that since the husband is old, she thinks that all the Todas will come to have intercourse with

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55/614 very plentiful. The informants conjectured that this fact accounts for the name; if so, it too is in a manner a sib-name. Similarly tömn, a son of piljog (52, Piliag), has as name the word for "honey," said to be used because [237] honey is for the Todas surrounded with taboos and in some sense holy. When the names of the kuɪrɪɪuɪtoɪl, the sib of this man, were investigated, 100 were sib-names, 3 could not be analyzed but were presumably sib-names, one was of non-Toda origin, one (tömn) has just been analyzed, and one, piljuɪr, is of peculiar origin, for which see §14. In my investigations I have complete analyses of the names of these three sibs. The latter two are the largest sib of the tööfiljoɪl moiety and one of the smaller ones. The toɪroɪroɪl sib, belonging to the toɪrɪɪasoɪl moiety, is one of the larger sibs of the moiety. Its names show a larger proportion with non-sib and non-Toda origin than either of the other two, and I suspect from the samplings of names that I have made from other sibs that it has probably a higher proportion of such names than any other sib. All the larger toɪrɪɪasoɪl sibs, however, show a few such names. When it is considered that none of these sibs is as large as the kuɪrɪɪuɪtoɪl and that the latter has only two names of non-sib and non-Toda origin out of the 106 analyzed, and that the piɪtoɪl have no name of non-Toda origin and only one that was not certainly derived from the sib, we may see here evidence to substantiate further Rivers' statement that the tööfiljoɪl moiety is more conservative than the other.

## WOMEN'S NAMES

§23. Women's personal names are not derived or allowed to be derived from the sib. It is evident, however, in one case that the thought of a sib-association had operated in the formation of a woman's name; this is the first name treated in the following paragraph. It was difficult to get any [124] definite interpretation of women's names from the men; they are quite uninterested in the matter. Their stock answer is that women's names are derived from names of flowers; but in fact, I have in my material no name so derived. Women informants were no more interested in the matter than the men, though they could analyze the names of men of their father's or husband's sibs with almost as much ease as the men. However, many of the women's names are quite transparent, and some principles can be stated. In a number of cases it is clear that words frequently used in songs are at the base of women's names, and it will emerge in the sequel that association [533] with the songs is to be suspected in most of them. In the detailed discussion of the names song-associations will be pointed out whenever they are known to me.

551/193 §24. A frequent suffix of unknown meaning, probably merely a formant

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of female-denoting significance, is -ɪɪdz. E.g. arlɪɪdz (3, Arlidz) is derived by this suffix from arl "small pebbles used in playing jackstraws or as counters in reckoning accounts." This woman was born in the sib of the noɪṣoɣ; it was at noɪṣ that the goddess tö̆ɪkɪsj performed her acts of creation and divided up the Todas into sibs and assigned buffaloes to the sibs. In the songs when this is referred to, a usual pair of phrases is:

| | |
|---|---|
| maxarxoj | potswθnoɪr |
| first-hand | where (she) placed-sacred place |
| maxararl | oɪkjwθnoɪr |
| first-pebbles | where (she) set out-sacred place |

i.e. "(noɪṣ) the sacred place where tö̆ɪkɪsj in the beginning laid on her hand and set out pebbles in making the divisions." It is clear that arl in the woman's name was used because of the association of her father's sib with tö̆ɪkɪsj, and it is probably significant that no other name has been discovered with this element. Another name with this suffix is moɲɪdz (7, Manidz); moɲ "soil, owned land" is a member of several pairs in songs—ipefædʒ, moɲefædʒ "quarrels (pædʒ) about women (iɲ, a Badaga word) and land;"

| | |
|---|---|
| iɲexüɑɪṭ | koṭjaθik |
| woman-bungalow | you built |
| moɲexö̆ɪr | kertaθik |
| earth-pool | you dammed |

i.e. "though a woman, you built a fine house and dammed with earth a pool to supply water." tarmɪɪdz (44, Termidz) < tarm "alms" (indirectly from Sanskrit dharma) has in mind the passage in the songs where a woman is praised for her alms-giving. nüɯɪṭɪɪdz (3, Notidz) < nüɯɪṭ "a sight," has in mind the pair describing funerals and festivals: koɪleoɪṭ, koɲenüɯɪṭ "dancing (oɪṭ) with the legs (koɪl), sights for the eyes (koɲ)." poɲɪɪdz, daughter of küɯɪlpax (52, Kulpakh) < poɲ "colored cloth" is probably derived from the song-unit otsodjfoɲ which refers to a loincloth put on by men when they drive the buffaloes round in the pen at a two-day funeral. sɪnɪɪdz (21, Sinidz) < sɪn "gold." laɪbɪɪdz, daughter of tö̆ɪkü̆ɯɪr (63, Teikudr), < laɪbm "profit" (indirectly from Sanskrit lābha). ruɪpojɪɪdz (also ruɪpoj), daughter of kömnɯs (34, Kemners), < ruɪpoj "rupee." raɪmɪɪdz (38, Ramidz) < Rāma, the divine personage. roɪdʒɪɪdz, daughter of poɪdz (34, Podj), < roɪdʒ "kingdom" (indirectly from Sanskrit rājya). pɪrkɪɪdz (28, Pirkidz) < pɪrkɪtsn, the Toda form of the English name Breeks, after the Collector in the Nilgiris who did ethnological work on the Todas. sonmɪɪdz (63, Sanmidz) < soɲm "the people" (indirectly from Sanskrit jana); this

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551 193 533 name is possibly made with thought of the song-pair: kuɪɾefɑr, keresonm "a crowd such as has not gathered before, the people in a crowd such as has not assembled before." motʃiɪdz (21, Matchidz) < motʃ "cot," with thought of the song-unit sinɑ̃motʃ "golden cot," which occurs in descriptions of the possessions of a wealthy man or of his wife. ofuliɪdz (16, Ovalidz; 24, Ovelidz) < ofuɪl "rice puffed over the fire."

551 193 §25. The suffix -ɑr is found in several names; e.g. koɪsɑr (57, Kosar) < koɪs "coin, rupee" and piʃjɑr (21, Piliarh) < piʃj "silver." noɪxoremj (10, Nagerami) contains a suffix -emj found in several other names; the first part of the name is to be compared with the first part of noɪxoroɪdɑn (§17). In sinɑg (27, Sinakh) we have sin "gold" and a suffix -ɑg. In several names there is a suffix -uɪl; e.g. sinuɪl (28, Sinul) < sin "gold."

§26. Many names are compounds. Frequent first members are sin "gold," pun "gold" (used in this sense in songs and proper names only), piʃj "silver." E.g. sindɑrm (10, Sindarm) with tɑrm "charity" (for the song-association cf. tɑrmiɪdz in §24); sindɑgɑs (62, Sintagars) with tɑgɑs "chain," with special reference to a chain as a neck-ornament; sinboɳm (63, Sinpanm) with poɳm "4-anna piece;" singũɑr, daughter of tõikũuɪr (63), with kũɑr "umbrella," a frequent word in songs; sinbydj, daughter of the same man, with pydj "wisdom" (indirectly from Sanskrit buddhi); sinmal, daughter of tuɪbxũuɪr (68, Tebkudr), with mal "mountains, esp. the Nilgiris," a frequent word in songs; sindoɖ (38, Sindod), with toɖ "army," a frequent word in songs (indirectly from Sanskrit daṇḍa); siniɪr (56, Sinir), with niɪr "water;" sinuɪr (41, Sinur), with uɪr "town, city;" singupj (14, Sinkupi), with kupj "the cowries or beads dangling in a bunch from a woman's armlet;" sinduɪfj (58, Sinduvi), with tuɪfj "feather;" sinbɛ̃uɪfj (65, Sinbuthuvi), with pɑ(0)-tuɪfj "eagle's feather;" sinɛs (8, 40, Siners), with ɛs "leaf;" sindɑrx (3, 25, 56, Sinderg; 53, Sinterg), with tɑrx "plate from which food is eaten," and singõb (43, Singib), with kõb "small bamboo cup from which milk is poured to drink," probably have reference to feeding visitors in the song-pair: tɑrxũuɪrɑʃkj, kõbũuɪrfoɪs "rice in a plate, milk in a cup;" sindurp (68, Sintharap), with turp "key." In a number of names the vowel -ɑ- is inserted between the two parts of the compound: sinɑmut (43, Sinamut), with mut "pearl;" sinɑmoɳj (24, Sinamani), with moɳj "bell" (see note 10); sinɑbuɪf (8, Sinabuv), with puɪf "flower;" sinɑ̃ɦj (1, Sinaveli), with piʃj "silver." Names with pun "gold" are: punɑduɪfj (68, Punduvi), with tuɪfj "feather;" punbɛ̃uɪfj (8, Punbuthuvi), with pɑ̃uɪfj "eagle's feather;" punuɪr (66, Punur), with uɪr "town, city;" pundɑrx (26, Pündergh), with tɑrx, cf. sindɑrx above. punɑbuɪf (10, Punabuv), with puɪf "flower," contains the inserted vowel -ɑ-. pundũu-

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an extent that their phonetics follow the Toda pattern: pæibj, daughter of ðiknus (8, Arkners), <"baby;" pentʃ, daughter of korɤüuṭṇ (42, Kadrkutan), <"bench (i.e. of magistrates in the courts)." The English "station," i.e. police-station, becomes in Toda tæisn; a woman's name tæis is derived by dropping -n, which if it were kept would give the word the appearance of a man's name (daughter of kajniir, 3, Kainir).

§30. The Sanskrit dēvī "goddess" borrowed indirectly gives tiifj (8, Tivi). Several goddess names (Hindu) with this as final element are found, among them amandiifj, daughter of küuilpax (52, Kulpakh), the first element being Amma, a South Indian word for "goddess;" the whole word probably refers to Mariamma.

## CONCLUSIONS

§31. Analysis of a large collection of proper names has thus yielded a number of general tendencies. Men's names are in the majority of cases sib-names, based on names and küurm "sacred names" of all things connected with the patrilineal sib and especially with the gods or munds of the sib. In this the Todas join in principle with many other sib-organized communities, in which the individuals of each sib bear a name belonging to the sib, but they differ from other such communities in that while in most each individual uses the name of the sib and a personal name not closely connected with the sib, the Todas use only personal names, which are derived from the sib. Of the small residue of names not definitely connected with the sibs, a few are derived from religious entities not closely associated with any sib (e.g. ðingüuṭṇ §18), and perhaps a larger number are derived from the names of gods of the Hindu pantheon, usually in consequence of a vow made by the man's parents (§17). A very few are derived from more miscellaneous sources (§§19, 20).

§32. Women's names on the contrary have nothing to do with the sib with the exception of the one discussed in §24 and possibly others that I have not discovered.[11] Some women's names are simple common nouns, often of non-Toda origin, many more are common nouns with a suffix, and the great majority are compounds of common nouns. Those names borrowed from English probably in many cases have a bizarre or perhaps even comic connotation, judging from the facial expressions of my informants when I recorded such names.

[11] It may be noted that though women have no part in the religion of the dairy-complex and are a source of pollution to the complex in many circumstances, they are not debarred from using the küurm "sacred names" in composing songs. Here they are entirely on an equality with the men. It has been found too that the women have as good a knowledge of the details of the formation of men's names as the men; cf. §23.

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when I recorded such names. The tendency appears to use words that have song-associations, and one may refer especially to the large class of names with pun "gold," a word used in this sense in songs and not so used in ordinary speech. It may be that this tendency is even more powerful than appears to the non-Toda observer, since it is extremely difficult for him to know what connotations a word may or may not have and informants are inarticulate on this matter. It may be, again, that the feeling that an outsider receives, that Toda women's names are generally rather poetical in the Western sense, i.e. in their reference to objects with aesthetic associations, is not entirely in accordance with Toda feelings. I can only adduce a small bit of evidence which I have already used in *The Songs of the Todas*.[13] In composing a song lamenting the death of the late King George V, the composer changed kiŋsoɪrdʒ, the Toda form of the king's name, into siŋsoɪrdʒ. He gave as the reason for this change that the former is not "poetical" and the latter is; my interpreter explained that kiŋ- suggests the word for "small" while siŋ- suggests the word for "gold," i.e. sin. This being so, we may conclude that women's names with the element sin "gold" are poetical to the Todas, i.e. they suggest to them the vocabulary of song. We have already seen that those with pun "gold" are poetical in the same sense, and I think that it is possible to conclude that women's names in general have for the Todas much the same connotations that they have for us. They are connected with the expressions of song and derive their connotations from the songs, and so may be justly said to be poetical.

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[13] *Op. cit.*, p. 533.

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term [keL] should not be used of such relationships with the Christian Todas.

In religion there has of course been a complete break. None of the tribal religious practices could have been fitted into the Christian pattern and there has been no attempt to do so, but rather a revulsion on the part of the missionaries from anything that smacked of the old religion (note however Miss Ling's acceptance of the attitude towards the church-bell mentioned above). This has gone so far that the missionaries who succeeded Miss Ling frowned on dancing. In the tribe the dancing is a part of every social occasion. It is performed at religious ceremonies, but also at funerals, ceremonies when the ears are pierced, weddings, and almost all other occasions when a number of the people gather. Even the children dance in play in the style of their elders (girls have been seen dancing as well as boys, though Toda women never dance). Miss Ling, realizing that the dance is not religious, looked with an indulgent eye on the dancing of the converts and in fact rather encouraged it than otherwise, with its accompanying extempore songs, at weddings, christenings and other joyous occasions. The missionaries in charge during the interregnum when Miss Ling was in England, with lack of insight and sympathy, forbad dancing. The reason given was that such a typically tribal activity would produce a hankering for other tribal customs and consequent backsliding from Christianity; possibly also a Puritanical attitude to dancing in general played its unacknowledged part. The effect that I observed however was that when the missionary guests retired from the scene of festivity, wedding or the like, dancing took place, and there resulted a regrettably un-Christian fostering of deceit and dislike of the missionaries in charge. It is to be observed that the Christian festivities are almost always attended by tribal Todas of the neighborhood and also by others from a greater distance who are related to the principals in Christian weddings and christenings. They are participants in the feasting and the males among them join with alacrity in the dancing.

The song-words that are composed during the dancing, as well as all other songs in the Toda language that are composed by the Christians, are of the tribal type and use the normal Toda technique of word and tune.[1] As most Toda songs are extempore and topical, so are the songs made by the Christians. There is an attempt to enlarge the verbal technique to embrace specifically Christian concepts and considering the rigidity of the conventions there are signs that the attempt will be suc-

[1] See my paper *The Songs of the Todas*, Proceedings American Philosophical Society 77. 343-369.

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cessful. Miss Ling had expressed the hope that the converts might some day break into Christian song in their own tongue and especially that a Benedicite might be composed. It is obviously too much to hope for that there should be a completely new style of song evolved; all that one could reasonably expect would be either that on the basis of Tamilian music or, less likely, European music songs would be composed with Toda words, or that with practice the conventions of Toda singing could be extended to cover the Christian spirit and subject-matter. With a view to helping on the latter evolution (perhaps ethnologically unethical, but certainly justified if it would contribute to filling an evident gap in the life of the Christian Todas, and also interesting as an experiment to see how far the technique could be made by a clever composer to cover a previously untreated subject), I suggested to [kanfusodj], my interpreter and a man versed in the song-technique, that he should attempt a Benedicite. He without further prompting attempted composition in both the modes suggested above. His [illegible] literal translation, based on his Tamil Prayer-book and to be sung to the tune used in church, was hardly a success. But since he had sharpened his wits by this effort, there was a much more satisfactory result. At the end of a night when he had been sitting in his potato-field to prevent raids on his crops by wild pig and deer, as dawn broke he burst forth in a song. This he later dictated to me and it proved to be a remarkable blending of the Christian subject-matter and the imagery suggested by the Toda poetical technique. The song, when read in translation to westerners whose judgment in such matters I value highly, has been adjudged a highly poetical lyric. Certainly for poetic value it far surpasses most of the 300 Toda songs that I have recorded. Whether efforts on such a high level can be produced in greater number remains for some future investigator to discover.

I have shown elsewhere [1] that the personal names of Toda males are in almost all cases derived from the religion of the dairy-complex and more specifically from the complexes of the patrilineal sib in the case of each man, while the names of Toda females are more miscellaneous but in many cases show an origin in the song-language. In all cases the Toda Christians who were proselytised from the tribe have retained their Toda names, usually as baptismal names, in spite of the definitely religious connotations in the case of male names. In addition they have all received Christian names, either English or Sanskritic-Tamil. When we come to the children born to the Christian community the case is different. There the Christian names are in the foreground of interest and are the only ones given at baptism. In most cases it seems that no

[1] *Personal Names of the Todas*, American Anthropologist, N.S., 40. 205–222.

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This incident, without the missionary influence, is typical of tribal matrimonial disputes; in the tribe there would have been no objection to the cross-cousin marriage taking place as a formality to be succeeded when the parties grew up by a *de facto* non-cross-cousin marriage with a fine known as [ter] paid as it was in this incident. The formal marriage was barred by Christian custom, but the succeeding events follow the tribal pattern of [ter]. It is noteworthy also that a respected man of the tribe was called in to adjudicate; this seems to be usual with the Christian community even in cases where disputes are not so closely bound up with social customs.

We have seen then that in spite of the outward break with tribal culture some elements of this culture have been retained by the Christian community. The tribal pastures are still resorted to by the Christians when there is too much pressure on their own pasturage, and in some cases at least hereditary economic partnerships with Kotas are kept up and even new ones formed. Economic relationships with the Badagas were of a different nature, consisting mainly of a sort of rent paid by the Badagas to the Todas; these relations have disappeared completely with reference to the Christian Todas. So also, so far as I know, the relations with the Kurumbas, who figure in the economic symbiosis chiefly as sorcerers, one of whom is paid by each Toda, Kota, and Badaga village to keep all other Kurumba sorcerers at bay (a crude insurance system known elsewhere in India against both castes of thieves and castes who are reputed to be sorcerers). Converts retain their Toda names, even though in the case of men these have tribal religious significance. The children born within the community, however, in general have no Toda names; when such names are given those of females follow the tribal pattern with its frequent poetic associations and those of males are in a measure assimilated to the female pattern with at least one quasi-suffixal element retained from the male pattern. The matrimonial incident recorded in the last paragraphs shows that there is an almost complete carry-over of tribal patterns in this sphere. Finally, a most important element is the retention of the tribal dance and song-technique. In the latter we have a verbalization of thought and emotion expressed in the old familiar technique, with fairly successful attempts to adjust the rigid conventions to the new patterns, resulting in one case in a highly poetical expression of the Christian attitude to God in his role of creator and being to be worshipped by all creatures.

The Christian Todas can hardly be said to have reached a perfectly integrated state. It is interesting to speculate on what their future condition will be, though very unprofitable. The adult members of the

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887 764 554 526 [518] old ones this opportunity and sometimes catch the old men's assigned animals before the latter can reach them. Old men retaliate sometimes by stepping in when the young men are unable to control a buffalo that has been caught. In the latter case the old man is inclined to boast inordinately of his prowess. [533] Great speed in running and skill in catching buffaloes is celebrated in the songs. Adventitious rewards are occasionally 764 554 526 given to the winner in the race for the buffaloes. E. g. about twenty years ago at the funeral of kanmṛ (Rivers' genealogical table 63), kumṛjaḷf, the headman of the tribe, offered a fine cloak to the winner in the race. It was won by kemoḍs (21), who still dwells on this proof of his former prowess. If this interest needs any buttressing, it has recently been provided by the Ootacmund Hunt, which initiated in 1936 at the point-to-point race meet a 648 522 cross-country running race for Todas. In that year and in 1937 the race was of about a mile and a quarter over rolling downs. It was won both years in remarkably fast time by a young man, [789] who was said at the time to have gone to the Kurumbas beforehand for charms to help him to win. This innovation, which will no doubt last as long as the Ootacamund Hunt, merely adds another small item to a highly-developed interest and fits well into the Toda pattern.

29 177 Toda men's costume has been affected to a slight extent by the influence of the immigrant plainspeople. I have already described the proper Toda clothes in my paper *Toda Garments and Embroidery*. In addition to these most men nowadays wear a shirt under the cloak in the manner made familiar to them by the Indians in the bazaar. A turban of bright-colored cloth or silk [292] is also affected, by headmen usually and by all others who can afford it for festal occasions. That this is a borrowing is easily seen from the clumsy efforts that the men make in tying the turban and from the lack of any uniform style in the result. Some young men also wear a bright-colored neckerchief knotted in front as a fairly regular part of their costume; this is a very [178] recent innovation and seems to be an independent invention. [784] None of these new garments may be worn when the men go [234] inside the walls surrounding the dairies. The waistcloth, though it seems to be an innovation of about a century ago, is worn near

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the first time,[1] introducing new utensils into the dairy and preparing new coagulant for the milk, rebuilding and rethatching the dairy, consecrating dairyman, and even drinking buttermilk from the dairy. All the rules apply to the sacred buffaloes; ordinary ones are treated with much less ceremony. Infractions of the rules involve pollution, and most of the precautions surrounding the cult seem designed to prevent pollution of the milk by contact with profane persons or utensils. The milk, as the primary product, is most liable to pollution and the successive operations finally result in ghee, which possesses so little sanctity that it can be sold to outsiders.

Rivers (pp. 447–9) dealt with the various elements of the dairy-cult which might conceivably be regarded as divinities, the dairy, the bell, the buffaloes, and the poɔ:ɨ, the priest of the most sacred grade of dairy, the ti:. He rightly rejected all these as being divinities for the Todas. Finally, in a paragraph on p. 449, he attempted to grapple with the problem of the Toda divinities. He said: "Each clan is believed to have its nódrodchi, or ruling deity, but I could not learn what he is supposed to do. In general the nódrodchi of a clan is a god dwelling on a hill near the chief village of the clan, and two clans living near one another may have the same ruler..... Little can be said about the nature of these connexions between gods and clans, but it is possible that when a clan or a member of a clan is said to incur the anger of the gods it is the nódrodchi who is chiefly offended and inflicts punishment in the form of death or disease to man or buffalo." This neglects one very important set of divinities. Rivers failed to discriminate between two different classes of divinities, the tõuθmɨ and the tõunoɔ. The Todas are not very articulate on the distinction when pressed for information in general terms, but the distinction is implicit in all that is said on the subject and becomes very explicit in the language of the songs.

[1] This ceremony, the mɔɨlɨlmɨt, is performed for a sacred buffalo only and only at its first calving; Rivers (p. 173) is to be corrected on this point. The essential part of the ceremony is the name-giving. When the calf is released from the calf-shed and allowed to go to its mother to be suckled, the dairyman says the name, e. g. kaɨθɨm, and then strikes the buffalo three times with the wand, saying hɔ̃ɨ at each stroke (p. 173 top). Before this ceremony the buffalo is classed as toɨ:ɨ, after it as mɔɨ.

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is a god." Likewise mod "mund" and noːr "sacred place" may be used as equivalent terms in songs. We must conclude that the "sacred place" and the "god" are the same thing, the localized dairy-complex. Examples of song-phraseology are as follows:[1]

| | |
|---|---|
| noːrɔːselm | kuːtjuθnoːr |
| sacred places-all | to which she gathered-sacred place |
| tõuɔːselm | " |
| gods-all | " |

i. e. "(noːr), the sacred place to which the goddess tõːkiŋ gathered all the sacred places, all the gods."

| | |
|---|---|
| moreθarm | kumɪrtmθnoːr |
| children-charity | which gave-sacred place |
| mɪreθarm | " |
| buffaloes-charity | " |

i. e. "the place (or, god) which gave children and buffaloes in abundance."

| | |
|---|---|
| noːrɛruːdtk | pɪːmθnoːr |
| sacred places-meeting-to | which went-sacred place |
| tõuenoːtk | " |
| gods-meeting-to | " |

i. e. "the sacred place (or, god) which went to the assembly of the sacred places, of the gods." The assembly to which the gods go is held in the dairy of the mund myːnj to settle disputes and matters of interest to the gods. Here all the gods, the tõuθɯt, the tõunoːr, and the gods of the Hindu pantheon, assemble and they are said to be 1600 or 1800 in number.[2] From this the tõunoːr are clearly seen to be anthropomorphic, as is also evident since it is said that a tõunoːr may become angry and visit misfortune on anyone guilty of polluting that particular dairy-complex.

[1] See *The Songs of the Todas*, reference given in note 1.

[2] The two numbers make the song-pair: parrɛrrθɛn, paːtparrθɛn "1600 gods, 1800 gods." That the conception is of fairly ancient standing with the Todas seems clear from the Toda interpretation of the first "holy name (kɯtpm)" of the mund myːnj, which is parrɛrm, said to mean "the standing-place (ɛrm) of the 1600 gods (represented by parr for parrɛrr)." For further discussion of this sacred name, see *Personal names of the Todas* §11.

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601 561 114 [576] Besides these Rivers distinguished a relative of this type who is of the same age as EGO. This distinction is in fact impossible, both in the strict temporal sense, and in the Toda cultural pattern. It is always known how the persons in question stand to one another in the matter of relative time of birth, and in such cultural contexts as formal greetings[8] no room is left by the pattern for a class of the same age as EGO. For example, at a gathering each new male arrival must salute all the males already present with the proper formal term of address, and among these all classificatory elder brothers must be greeted. If any of those present is neglected, the offender is reprimanded and if necessary fined for the neglect. The pattern in its strict application makes a clean dichotomy and in practically all circumstances the dichotomy is rigidly enforced. The word given by Rivers for his third class is koɪ/ "friend," occurring chiefly with pronominal forms preceding, egoɪ/ or en-goɪ/ "my friend" (in address -es is added), num-goɪ/ "your friend," an-goɪ/ or tan-goɪ/ "his or her friend," etc. These terms are normally used between or with reference to close friends of the same age-level who are not related to one another (e.g., typically between two persons who belong to different moieties). They may also be used where formality is not enforced by the pattern; I have no certain information as to whether they could be used between siblings, but there is some slight evidence to be discussed below which would indicate that it is possible. It is to be noted however that this is only permissive and that the term does not designate any kinship class or even any relationship that is highly formalized in the culture.[7]

533 601 [193] When two persons sing together, certain subjects allow or require that vocatives be used at the beginning, the end, and important division-points of the songs. In most of the texts that I have recorded the proper kinship terms are used in such songs. Ten songs use the conventional song-words for "friend (vocative)," enbocxoɪ/jɑɪ, eningoɪ/jɑɪ.[9] Three situations may be divided off. In the first (three songs) the two singers are of different moieties and presumably no "lover-mistress" relationship would require kinship terms.[9] In a second class (four songs) membership of the same moiety might very well involve a relationship where kinship terms should be used, but I do not know of any such relationship; two of the songs were sung by the same pair of singers and were dictated to me at a sufficient interval of time so that the use of "friend" terms is guaranteed. In a third class (three songs) there was certainly relationship between the singers, but as dictated the "friend" terms were used. These [114] [126] songs were dictated rather early in my field-work before I realized all the implications of the

[601] [561] in address is the simple vocative (distinguished by sex and relative age); in reference the simple brother-sister terms might be used or, where more exact reference is necessary, descriptive terms. In the case of address to cross-cousins of the same sex as EGO the brother-sister terms are used (see note 7 below).

[8] Rivers, pp. 496-98.

[7] In the case also of address to cross-cousins of the same sex as the speaker there is no room for Rivers' third classification (p. 488 bottom); only age older or younger than that of EGO is taken into account in determining the kinship term to be used.

[114] [9] For the nature of the song-words, see my paper *The Songs of the Todas* (Proceedings, American Philosophical Society, Vol. 77, pp. 343-60, 1937), especially pp. 348-49.

[9] For this relationship, see Rivers, pp. 526-29.

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song-language, and it is possible that the informants, who happened to be in no case the singers, dictated incorrectly. In one song piḷɹuɪr (Piliar, 52) and merṇɯs (Mudriners, 57) sang; these men were of the same patrilineal sib and used "brother" terms to one another. In another sindɯrp (Sintharap), wife of kɯɯɪsjaḷḷ (Kuriolv, 52), and koɪsar (Kosar, 57) sang; these women would certainly have used "sister" terms to one another. In the third song, which was dreamed, two men recently dead were singing: tæɪθjxæɪn, son of sirjuɪr (Siriar, 20), and tθθθɯɪ, son of toɪkus (Tokas) and punuɪr (Puner, 23); they belonged to the same patrilineal sib and the former called the latter ejuɪ "father." Other dreamed songs in which dead persons sang used the correct kinship terms. It is difficult to interpret this small minority of songs in which relationship was neglected. It may be possible that relationship can be neglected; I prefer to suspect mistakes in the record until further field work can clear the matter up.

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The kinship system is of the type known as the Dakota-Iroquois system (see accompanying diagrams and Appendix). The salient points of the system are those stressed by Rivers—the obligatory indication of age-distinctions in ɛɔo's generation (with the qualification made in the preceding discussion) and the permissive indication in the first ascending generation (see p. 163 below); the obligatory distinction in the first ascending generation between father's brothers and male parallel cousins and mother's sisters and female parallel cousins on the one hand, and father's sisters and female parallel cousins and mother's brothers and male parallel cousins on the other, and in ɛɔo's generation between the children of these two groups. A clear distinction is made between terms used in reference and those used in address. The reference terms are built about a core of simplex classificatory terms with a large number of phrasal and frequently *ad hoc* terms to indicate those to whom the simplex terms do not apply. Permissively, the simplex terms also may be replaced by phrasal terms when very exact reference is needed, e.g., man-mox "son of sibling of sex opposed to that of ɛɔo" (itself phrasal, but in connotation a simplex) and man-guɪx "daughter, etc." may be replaced by en-oking-fæɪdfoj-mox "son who was born to my elder sister (male speaking)," en-ɯɯr-fed-monk-fæɪdfoj-guɪx "daughter who was born to my younger brother (female speaking)," etc. The terms of address, on the other hand, are all simplex classificatory terms and, being extended very widely, neglect a number of the reference classifications, indicated either by simplex or by phrasal terms. A summary of the system follows:

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There is no self-reciprocating terminology in address. In reference močiŋj "cross-cousin" is self-reciprocating, since it does not distinguish sex or relative age; when a permissively added word indicates the sex, the self-reciprocating nature of the term is destroyed. In ɛɔo's generation his siblings and classificatory parallel cousins are referred to and addressed by terms which distinguish age older than himself and younger than himself respectively and sex is distinguished in the case of those older than himself.

Sex is specified in referring to and addressing members of the ascending generations, except in referring to the cross-cousins of one's parents and of one's parents' siblings and parallel cousins (en-in-močiŋj "my father's cross-cousin," en-af-močiŋj "my mother's cross-

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person because of relationship in the same matrilineal sib, in the same patrilineal sib, or by pojo!/ relationship may be permitted to dance.[19] Or, it may happen that, although there are enough members of the proper moiety to dance, there is no one present of the proper moiety who knows how to compose dance-words.[20] In this case if a composer of the moiety of the dead person is present, he may be permitted to dance and compose words. It may happen that all the composers of both moieties will be prevented from dancing by the mourning rules; in this case one of them will be allowed to dance and compose words.

It will be seen from the manner in which the rules are relaxed between situations (a) and (b) for a man, and within the situation (a) as between a man and a woman, that no one may ever dance who is related by co-membership in the same matrilineal sib to any dead person, either of whose funerals is outstanding. In both cases however when the rules are relaxed, i.e. when a man's second funeral only is outstanding and when a woman's first or second funeral is outstanding, the only co-members of the patrilineal sib who are forbidden to dance are those within the immediate family. We may conclude from these rules and from the universally overriding force of relationship within the same matrilineal sib in the application of kinship terms, that in these social spheres the matrilineal sib has greater importance than the patrilineal.[21] Rivers' description has of course made clear the overwhelming importance of the patrilineal sibs in the economic, religious, and social spheres. A man belongs to the patrilineal sib of his father and inherits his property and all his ownership rights and duties in the sacred herds of buffaloes, the dairies at which they are tended, the pastures, etc. This is the pivot of Toda life and in it the matrilineal sibs do not figure at all. In the matter of marriage patrilineal and matrilineal sibs are of equal value; no Toda may marry a person belonging to his own sib of either type. In the matters treated in this paper, however, though both types of sib play a part, the matrilineal sib relationship has greater weight than the other.

A hint of the attitude of a Toda towards the members of his matrilineal sib is provided by the words of the songs. The attitude is identified by the work noïlkj which was translated as "shame," and refers to the sensation of shrinking felt when one is confronted with an embarrassing situation. We shall first examine a prose account of the expedition of kajnïr (Kainïr, 3) to the points of interest on the path over the hills followed by the dead on their way to the afterworld. His daughter ərlïr had married pi!kor (Pilkòdr, 16) of the mötr patrilineal sib, whose mund pən is very near the point where the path starts southwestward into the Kundah hills. She assured her father of the interest that such an expedition would have and he with several companions made it successfully. One of the points is

[19] A person who cannot dance on any occasion because of mourning is called kör(ö)-kotpo! "person who is waiting for a funeral." [20] See reference in note 12 above.

[21] Another place where relationship in the matrilineal sib counts is in the salutations performed at various ceremonies, as e.g., at the pəs-ərlt or bow-giving ceremony. There the wife salutes all the male and female members of her father's patrilineal sib and her own matrilineal sib, and those of her husband's patrilineal sib who are older than herself. Likewise the husband salutes all the male and female members of his patrilineal sib, his matrilineal sib, and his wife's patrilineal sib without respect to relative ages. So correct Rivers, p. 320.